1:Takakura , H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi:* "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.[53] The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

3. THE ABUSES OF THE *BASHO* CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

[53] *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari.*

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Sag- [361] halin in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the num- 166 ber of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon* [131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, 172 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching 304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. 415 The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from [197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yel- [513] low, but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

* Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I consider this to be the original cause why this artistic insight is to be found even among the lowest classes. The Ainu have no such insight; they have no characters, no writing of any kind, no books, and it is therefore not astonishing that they are not trained to understand art, bad as it may have been in my case. Their appreciation of lines is yet in the rudest form, and they possess no more than what is instinctive with them. For instance, while I was sketching, Benry and his friend either sat or crouched down by my side like two dogs, and when my sketch was finished I showed it to them.

"Pirika, Pirika! Nishpa!" ("Very pretty, very pretty, sir!") Benry exclaimed with perfect self-assurance; but when I asked him what he thought the sketch represented, he cut me short by saying that *I* had done the picture and *I* ought to know what it was meant for; he did not. His friend agreed with him.

When my work was done we three walked back to Benry's house, my two Ainu friends being very anxious that I should get something to eat. From their conversation and gestures I caught that it seemed incomprehensible to them that I should sit in front of an Ainu hut and—to use their expression—"make all sorts of signs on a wooden panel." After a lengthy discussion the two came to the conclusion that houses in our country were so bad that I had been sent to the Ainu country to "copy" the pattern of Ainu huts!

Benry seemed excited about something, and hurried us back with curious haste and eagerness. When we left the house in the morning I saw Benry's better-half placing a few eggs in water to boil over the fire. When we entered the hut, nearly two hours afterwards, the eggs were still boiling, and no fair maid within yelling reach. In order that the fire might not go out during her absence the thoughtful girl had placed the largest portion of the trunk of a tree in the fireplace!

Taken altogether, Benry and all his Saru Ainu are very good-natured. They gradually got accustomed to being sketched, seeing that after all it really did not bring on them "immediate death."

The more one sees of the Ainu the dirtier they appear, but as dirt to a great extent contributes to picturesqueness, I was

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

As regards the Ainu, they are not fond of bathing or washing, and they share the Chinese idea that it is only dirty people who need continual washing. They do not regard themselves as dirty, and therefore dispense with such an "uncleanly habit."

"You white people must be very dirty," once said an Ainu to me, as I was taking a plunge into a limpid river, "as you tell me that you bathe in the river every day."

"And what about yourself?" I asked him.

"Oh, Nishpa," he replied with an air of contempt, "I am very clean, and have never needed washing!"

If Kushiro is not interesting to an artist, it is decidedly so from an archæological point of view. Numerous pits, forts, and camps, flint implements, and fragments of pottery, are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, both on the range of hills and along the west shore of Lake Harutori. The pits are found in such numbers as to lead one to believe that the old "Kossuri" of the Ainu was once the capital of a race of pit-dwellers previous to the conquest of the whole of Yezo by the hairy race. The Ainu gave these people the name of *Koropok-kuru*—men of the holes. A few words on them may not be out of place, though, unfortunately, little is to be learned from the Ainu as to who their predecessors were, and it is merely by a close examination of their pits, and relics found in different parts of Yezo and the Kuriles, that we can to a certain extent trace the existence of such a race of people, and also prove that they were in no way connected with the present Ainu.

AINU HOOK FOR SMOKING BEAR-MEAT.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

hair absorbs a great quantity of natural moisture; and mostly because they do not drink much except when they can get hold of intoxicants.

The skin is greasy—the natural result of many years of an unwashed existence; and this gives to the hairy people a peculiar and strong odour, much resembling that of monkeys. Many are familiar with the peculiar odour of an uncleaned monkey's cage, and the same, intensified a thousand times, characterises an Ainu village. Hundreds of yards off you can distinctly smell out a village, or if the wind is blowing towards you, that peculiar odour is perceptible for a full half-mile. Although the sense of smell is acute in the Ainu—for they sometimes employ it in tracking animals—they are not aware of their own strong odour; but they are quick in distinguishing that of other races. I have several times heard Ainu of the coast remark that I possessed a different odour from that of the Japanese; but they could neither define it nor assimilate it to that of any animal they knew, though several of them one day held a lengthy pow-wow about it; and in the interest of anthropology I submitted to the unpleasant process of being smelt all over by them. The Chinese unanimously assert that Europeans smell like sheep, and they say this is the reason we constantly wash and bathe, being aware of our infirmity, and doing our best to diminish it by soap and water. We ourselves attribute to Jews one distinct odour, and yet another to the Russians; not to speak of those belonging to the negroes, the Chinese, and, in fact, all other nations. Thus, the odour has some importance in the classification of peoples, as it largely depends on the kind of food as well as the personal habits of a race. Meat-eaters smell differently from fish-eaters, and these again from vegetarians. As regards the Ainu, their filthy habits of course increase their offensiveness, while bodily exercise renders them intolerable. The Japanese recognise the Ainu odour as a distinguishing mark of the race, and Japanese fishermen have often said to me, "*Aino shto taihen kusai*"; "*Saru*," or else "*Kumma onaji koto*"—"Ainu men smell bad, just like a monkey or a bear."

As an Ainu grows older this peculiarity increases. The weaker sex is generally more "strongly scented" than are the men, owing to the fact that women wear skins and rough cloth

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The [515] method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it [783] is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual [576] condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made [782] the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with *'fuo!'* and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

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Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned 178 inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over 291 the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship [593] of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one 765 outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was 178 clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). 291 A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When [302] men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping [292] cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.